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The Most Important Subject in the World Today

COMMUNIST

.. tactics

.. strategy

.. objectives

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION SPECIAL COMMITTEE

COMMUNISM SUCCEEDS BECAUSE
PEOPLE DON'T BOTHER TO LEARN
WHAT COMMUNISTS WANT... AND
HOW THEY OPERATE

AN AMERICA'S FUTURE PAMPHLET



Paul Revers are not always heeded



Origin of this report...

A Special Committee of the American Bar Association was appointed to study and report on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives. Chairman of this committee was Peter Campbell Brown, New York City Corporation Counsel.

The Committee made its report in the summer of 1958. Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire received a copy of the report from a friend and considered it so important that he inserted it in full in the Congressional Record for August 22, 1958. America's Future, Inc., an educational organization established to combat Communism in America, reprinted the document in full and makes it available to anyone, complete with references and footnotes, as it appeared in the Congressional Record. The final version of this report, as overwhelmingly accepted by the American Bar Association's House of Delegates on February 24, 1959, is but slightly modified.

IT IS THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF AMERICA who most need to understand clearly what Communism is, what is its program, and how it gains its ends. Unless they know Communism for what it is and thus know how to deal with it for their own protection, the Communist slave state will almost certainly sweep over and either engulf or destroy them.

To help young and old alike understand Communism as it affects their lives in America, this excellent and intensely interesting report is here reprinted, slightly abridged, in the hope that every man, woman and child will read it and be guided by it.

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"A Night To Remember" tells of the iceberg warnings sent by wireless to the Titanic. When the sixth message, "Look out for icebergs," came in, the Titanic's operator wired back: "Shut up, I'm busy." Just 35 minutes later the ship was sinking.

The phrase "Remember Pearl Harbor" should remind us that we, people and leaders, were cocksure and complacent before the afternoon of December 7, 1941. The FBI had warned of frequent messages from the Japanese consulate at Hawaii to Tokyo telling of the presence and absence of American warships at Pearl Harbor. Distracted reports of Japanese espionage by fishing vessels were ridiculed as headline hunting. Capt. Laurance Safford, who was recently awarded \$100,000 by a grateful Congress for his World War II coding and decoding inventions, had decoded all the Japanese pre-Pearl Harbor war messages for his superiors. Yet, the attack came as a stunning surprise.

Most persons who are informed on communism think our country is now in greater danger than were the Titanic and Pearl Harbor. The thesis of J. Edgar Hoover's new book, *Masters of Deceit*, is:

"Communism is the major menace of our time. Today, it threatens the very existence of our western civilization."

In his speech to the 1957 National Convention of the American Legion, Mr. Hoover warned:

"To dismiss lightly the existence of the subversive threat in the United States is to deliberately commit national suicide. In some quarters we are surely doing just that."

On July 6, 1958, Prof. J. Sterling Livingston, a Pentagon consultant stated:

"The doctrine of preemptive war is definitely a part of Soviet strategy. The Russians plan as part of their strategy to strike a forestalling nuclear blow against their enemies."

The lawyer-author of the Gaither report to the President on national security recently told our association:

"Our security is in unprecedented peril. * * * The ultimate objective of international communism is world domination, and the Soviet Union will pursue this objective ruthlessly and relentlessly, employing every possible political, economic, subversive, and military stratagem and tactic."

Court decisions on Communism



The 1953 midyear report of this committee praised the opinions of Chief Justice Stone in *Schneiderman v. United States* and of Mr. Justice Jackson in *American Communications Association v. Douds* for their conclusion, based on Communist documents, that the Communist Party, U. S. A. is not a political party but, to quote Mr. Justice Jackson: "Is a conspiratorial and revolutionary junta, organized to reach ends and to use methods which are incompatible with our constitutional system."

Similar statements were made by Chief Justice Hughes when, as Secretary of State, he refused to recognize the Communist Government of Russia, and by Chief Justice Vinson in his scholarly opinion upholding the convictions of the 11 top Communists under the Smith Act.

In the last 2 years, the Supreme Court has decided the following 20 cases:

1. Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board.

The Court refused to uphold or pass on the constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, and delayed the effectiveness of the act.

2. Pennsylvania v. Steve Nelson.

The Court held that it was unlawful for Pennsylvania to prosecute a Pennsylvania Communist Party

leader under the Pennsylvania Sedition Act, and indicated that the anti-sedition laws of 42 States and of Alaska and Hawaii cannot be enforced.

3. Yates v. United States.

The Court reversed two Federal courts and ruled that teaching and advocating forcible overthrow of our government, even "with evil intent," was not punishable under the Smith Act as long as it was "divorced from any effort to instigate action to that end," and ordered 5 Communist Party leaders freed and new trials for another 9.

4. Cole v. Young.

The Court reversed two Federal courts and held that, although the Summary Suspension Act of 1950 gave the Federal Government the right to dismiss employees "in the interest of the national security of the United States," it was not in the interest of the national security to dismiss an employee who contributed funds and services to a not-disputed subversive organization, unless that employee was in a "sensitive position."

5. Service v. Dulles

The Court reversed two Federal courts which had refused to set aside the discharge of John Stewart Service by the State Department. The FBI had a recording of a con-

versation between Service and an editor of the pro-Communist magazine *Amerasia*, in the latter's hotel room in which Service spoke of military plans which were very secret. Earlier the FBI had found large numbers of secret and confidential State Department documents in the *Amerasia* office. The lower courts had followed the McCarran amendment which gave the Secretary of State absolute discretion to discharge any employee in the interests of the United States.

6. Slochower v. Board of Education of New York City.

The Court reversed the decisions of three New York courts and held it was unconstitutional to automatically discharge a teacher, in accordance with New York law, because he took the fifth amendment when asked about Communist activities. On petition for rehearing, the Court admitted that its opinion was in error in stating that Slochower was not aware that his claim of the fifth amendment would ipso facto result in his discharge; however, the Court denied rehearing.

7. Sweezy v. New Hampshire.

The Court reversed the New Hampshire Supreme Court and held that the attorney general of New Hampshire was without authority to question Professor Sweezy, a lecturer at the State university, concerning a lecture and other suspected subversive activities. Questions which the Court said that Sweezy properly refused to answer included: "Did you advocate Marxism at that time?" and "Do you believe in communism?"

8. United States v. Witkovich.

The Court decided that, under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which provides that any alien against whom there is a final order of deportation shall "give information under oath as to his nationality, circumstances, habits, associations and activities, and such other information, whether or not related to the foregoing, as the Attorney General may deem fit and proper," the Attorney General did not have the right to ask Witkovich: "Since the order of deportation was entered in your case on June 25, 1953, have you attended any meetings of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.?"

9. Schwart v. Board of Examiners of New Mexico.

The Court reversed the decisions of the New Mexico Board of Bar Examiners and of the New Mexico Supreme Court which had said: "We believe one who has knowingly given his loyalties to the Communist Party for 6 or 7 years during a period of responsible adulthood is a person of questionable character." The Supreme Court ruled that "membership in the Communist Party during the 1930's cannot be said to raise substantial doubts about his present good moral character."

10. Konigsberg v. State Bar of California.

The Court reversed the decisions of the California Committee of Bar Examiners and of the California Supreme Court and held that it was unconstitutional to deny a license to practice law to an applicant who refused to answer this question put

by the bar committee: "Mr. Konigsberg, are you a Communist?" and a series of similar questions.

11. Jencks v. United States.

The Court reversed two Federal courts and held that Jencks, who was convicted of filing a false non-Communist affidavit, must be given the contents of all confidential FBI reports which were made by any Government witness in the case even though Jencks "restricted his motions to a request for production of the reports to the trial judge for the judge's inspection and determination whether and to what extent the reports should be made available.

12. Watkins v. United States.

The Court reversed the Federal District Court and six judges of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, and held that the House Un-American Activities Committee could not require a witness who admitted "I freely cooperated with the Communist Party" to name his Communist associates, even though the witness did not invoke the fifth amendment. The Court said: "We remain unenlightened as to the subject to which the questions asked petitioner were pertinent." The Court did not question "the power of the Congress to inquire into and publicize corruption, maladministration or inefficiency in agencies of the Government." The Court did question the right of Congress to inquire into and publicize communism and subversion, and suggested that this "involved a broad scale intrusion into the lives and affairs of private citizens."

13. Raley, Stern, and Brown v. Ohio.

The Court reversed the Ohio Supreme Court and lower courts and set aside the conviction of three men who had refused to answer questions about Communist activities put to them by the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission.

14. Flaxer v. United States

The Court reversed two Federal courts and set aside the conviction of Flaxer of contempt for refusing to produce records of alleged Communist activities subpoenaed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

15. Sacher v. United States.

The Court reversed two Federal courts and set aside the conviction of Sacher of contempt for refusing to tell the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee whether he was "a member of the lawyers' section of the Communist Party." In the second Sacher appeal, the Court again reversed the court of appeals and said that this question was not pertinent to the subcommittee's investigation of Communist witness Maturow's recantation. The Court refused to hear any argument from the Government lawyers representing this Senate subcommittee.

16. Yates v. United States.

In the second Yates appeal, the Court reversed two Federal courts and held that the refusal of Communist Party member Yates "to answer 11 questions about Communist membership of other persons" did not constitute 11 contempts. In the third Yates appeal, the Court re-

versed 2 Federal courts and held that Yates' contempt sentence of 1 year should be reduced to the 15 days already served for this contempt.

17. Bonetti v. Rogers

The Court reversed two Federal courts and held that, although the Internal Security Act of 1950 provides that any alien, who "at any time" after entering the United States shall have been a member of the Communist Party, is deportable, Bonetti, an alien who became a Communist after entering the United States, was not deportable because he had reentered after quitting the Party. The dissenting judges charged that this construction reads "at any time" out of the act and the word "last" into the statute, and "cripples the effectiveness of the act."

18. Consul General for Yugoslavia v. Andrew Artukovic.

The Court reversed two Federal courts and held that Artukovic, an anti-Communist refugee from Yugoslavia who is living with his wife and children in California, could not claim political asylum in America, but had to submit to an extradition hearing which would be based on Yugoslavia's political charges.

19. Rockwell Kent v. Dulles.

The Court reversed two Federal courts and held that the State Department could not require every applicant for a passport to file a non-Communist affidavit.

20. Dayton v. Dulles

The Court reversed two Federal courts and held that the State Department had to give a passport to a research physicist whose passport application to accept a job in India had been denied for security reasons. The Secretary of State had found that Dayton had lived for 8 months with a Communist who "was involved in the espionage apparatus of Julius Rosenberg" and that Dayton was going to work in India with another Communist "who recently renounced his American citizenship."

... In the appeal pending in the Supreme Court of Florida from the order of dismissal of the disciplinary proceedings against Leo Sheiner [Leo Sheiner had twice previously been ordered disbarred by the circuit court of Florida] our committee prepared and submitted a brief to the Supreme Court of Florida stating its views on the duty of the bar and of the courts to cleanse its ranks of an unfit member. The committee further stated its concept of an acceptable standard of fitness for attorneys and of the unfitness of any member of the bar who, in appropriate proceedings persists in refusal to answer pertinent questions concerning his activities in the Communist Party or Communist-dominated fronts on the ground that his answers to such questions concerning his activities might tend to incriminate him. It is inconceivable to us that an attorney and officer of the court may continue in good standing while he pleads self-incrimination in refusing to answer questions relating to subversive activities.

Communist tactics



Communist Russia has been called "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." This is true only for those who are ignorant of Communist writings. The Communists have set forth their master plan of world conquest even more forthrightly than did Hitler in "Mein Kampf." The Communist Manifesto said: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims." Communists have never deviated from the theory enunciated by Marx and the strategy devised by Lenin.

For those who want to understand communism, we prescribe, not a 15-day trip to Russia, but 15 days in a library studying the Communist conspiracy. The following quotations from Communist authorities are an accurate summary of Communist tactics, strategy, and objectives.

The Communist master plan for world conquest was stated by Lenin in these words:

"First, we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

During the last 25 years, the United States has had 3,400 meet-

ings with the Communists, including Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjom, and Geneva. The negotiators spoke 106 million words (700 volumes). All this talk led to 52 major agreements, and Soviet Russia has broken 50 of them. The Communists have followed Lenin's dictum about treaties and agreements:

"Promises are like pie crusts — made to be broken."

During the last 3 years, the United States has met 73 times at Geneva with the Chinese Reds to negotiate the release of 450 American prisoners. Not one American serviceman has been accounted for or released. The Communists have followed Stalin's principle of diplomatic intercourse:

"Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood."

Marx and Engels stated this objective in the Communist Manifesto:

"The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."

Lenin gave this command to Communists:

"We have to use any ruse, dodges, tricks, cunning, unlawful method, concealment, and veiling of the truth."

On another occasion, Lenin added:

"As long as capitalism remains we cannot live in peace. In the end one or the other will triumph—a funeral requiem will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

On September 17, 1955, Nikita Khrushchev warned us:

"If anyone thinks that our smiles mean the abandonment of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, he is deceiving himself cruelly. Those who expect this to happen might just as well wait for a shrimp to learn how to whistle."

Khrushchev made this statement to Western diplomats at a Moscow reception on November 18, 1956:

"If you don't like us, don't accept our invitations and don't invite us to come to see you. Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

Khrushchev appeared on our American television screens on June 2, 1957, and confidently told us:

"Your grandchildren will live under socialism."

William Z. Foster dedicated his book, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, to his great-grandson, "who will live in a Communist United States."

The Communist philosophy of negotiation was stated in 1931 to the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow by Dimitri Manuilski, a Soviet official and at one time the presiding officer of the U. N. Security Council:

"War to the hilt between com-

munism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalistic countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

Georgi Dimitrov advised the Lenin School of Political Warfare how to make use of innocents and dupes in these words:

"As Soviet power grows, there will be a greater aversion to Communist parties everywhere. So we must practice the techniques of withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground; let our friends do the work. We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant Communists. A university professor, who without being a party member lends himself to the interests of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with party cards. A writer of reputation, or a retired general, are worth more than 500 poor devils who don't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police. Every man has his value, his merit. The writer who, without being a party member, defends the Soviet Union, the union leader who is outside our ranks but defends Soviet international policy, is worth more than a thousand party members."

The key to Communistic tactics is the dialectic. Just as the movements of the planets are predictable by astronomers, so are Communist movements predictable by those who have studied the dialectic. The dialectic is an instrument which gives the Communists complete freedom from normal and logical restraints. According to the dialectic, the Communist objective is never approached in a direct, persistent line. It is not even approached in a circuitous, winding pathway. The dialectic mode of progress consists of a series of advances and retreats. Communists do not wait for an opening; they create it.

Lenin described the dialectic as "one step forward, two steps backward." The Communists go backward and forward to inevitable victory. The operation of the dialectic is like hammering a nail. It is a foolish man who brings down the hammer with a crashing blow and then continues to push. When that blow has spent itself, the entire direction of progress is reversed, and the goal is achieved through a series of backward forward motions. According to the dialectic, even though heading away from the goal, you are still fulfilling the scientific method of approach; and therefore the reverse movement must be carried out with the same fervor and determination.

The closing of the Daily Worker was a dialectical maneuver. The Communist Party made a dialectical

retreat in stopping publication of the leading party organ on January 13, 1958, under the subterfuge that it was in dire financial condition. In so doing, the Communist Party made a two-step advance. First, it strengthened the discipline of the party because, as J. Edgar Hoover has pointed out, the internal struggle for power resulted in a decisive victory for the pro-Soviet faction. Secondly, the ousted editor of the Daily Worker, John Gates, now performs the function of a Tito within the United States. Gates is infinitely more valuable to communism lecturing at American colleges and universities than he ever was while with the Daily Worker. Gatesism promotes the apathy of the intellectuals under the theme: "Communism is dying out." The Communists aim to keep us complacent until the choice is annihilation or surrender, at which time they confidently expect us to submit to a negotiated surrender.

Also during this past year, the Communists went forward with the rocks and garbage thrown at Vice President Nixon in South America; backward with the smiles of Menshikov; forward with the executions of Nagy and Maleter; backward by allowing Tito to make a few anti-Soviet statements; forward with the defeats of anti-Communists in Syria and Indonesia — all with the same unity of purpose that makes everything contribute to their plan of world conquest.

Major communist tactics AT THE PRESENT TIME

1. Nullification of the Smith Act and other anti-Communist legislation.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover testified January 6, 1958, at a House hearing made public in May, that 49 of the 108 top communists convicted by Federal juries under the Smith Act have been set free by Supreme Court decisions. Judge Richard H. Chambers of the United States Court of Appeals in a decision releasing 11 of these top Communists, said that Supreme Court decisions have left the Smith Act, as to any further prosecution under it, a shambles.

J. Edgar Hoover also testified that a top Communist functionary described the decision in the Smith Act case of June 17, 1957, as the greatest victory the Communist Party in America has ever received. The Daily Worker summed up the Yates, Watkins and other cases of that same day in these words: "The curtain is closing on one of our worst periods."

Other anti-Communist laws which have been targets of the Communist Party and which are now nullified or weakened by the foregoing 20 cases are the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, the anti-sedition laws of 42 States, Alaska, and Hawaii, key security provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and the Summary Suspension Act of 1950.

2. Muzzling the FBI and congressional investigations.

For years the Communist Party has poured out its most hysterical language against what the Reds call

"the gestapolike FBI," and congressional inquisitions and witch hunts. This tactic has been so successful that it is now said that the Communists don't have to tell congressional committees anything.

Judge Robert Morris, chief counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for 6 years, said: "The power of the Congress to learn the underlying facts of the [Communist] conspiracy has been hamstrung" since the decision in the Watkins case.

In the first session of Congress since the Watkins decision the House Un-American Activities Committee conducted only one investigation and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee held only one public hearing . . . although committee files are bulging with data on the conspiracy which are crying for exploration.

The experience of France, and particularly Germany, shows the danger of restricting legislative investigations. Bismarck so feared the power of parliamentary investigation that he dissolved the Prussian Parliament when it attempted to assert its right of investigation. Historians agree that the lack of legislative investigation was the greatest single cause for the authorization of Imperial Germany. When the Weimar Republic was created, article 34 of the constitution granted the Reichstag the power "to appoint investigating committees." When the Reichstag attempted to exercise its constitutional right, the German Constitutional court, in two key cases, narrowed the scope of parliamentary inquiry so consid-

erably that the investigating powers of the Reichstag were inadequate to its tasks. As a result, the Reichstag never exposed the Nazi Party, or Hitler's purges, concentration camps and secret police. The success of the Nazi conspiracy taught the German Supreme Court a lesson. On August 17, 1956, it handed down a scholarly 375-page opinion which outlawed all activities of the Communist conspiracy in West Germany.

3. Elimination of Federal and State security programs.

This tactic has been completely successful in regard to nonsensitive positions, although evidence is abundant that the Communist conspiracy considers nonsensitive positions vitally important. Military security officers have caught Communist janitors collecting the contents of waste baskets and Communist stenographers making an extra carbon copy of all documents and mailing them to their Communist superiors. The *New York Times* reported on July 11, 1958, that there are more than 300 Government employees dismissed or suspended as security risks who are due to be reinstated with back pay.

Everyone admits that Government employment is not a right but a privilege. Yet the effect of the Cole, Service, Slochower, and Sweezy decisions is to prevent Federal and State governments from withdrawing this privilege from those who associate with Communists or who are security risks.

On July 9, 1958, the legal chief of the State Department Passport Division testified in Congress that, as a result of the June 1958 decisions in the Kent and Dayton cases, the

State Department has had to issue 77 passports to suspected subversives and has another 70 applications pending whose travel abroad will be against the security of the United States. He pleaded for early passage of the legislation submitted by President Eisenhower to overcome these decisions and to give the State Department authority to bar passports from persons whose travel abroad may be deemed injurious to American security.

4. The peace offensive

On April 1, 1951, the House Un-American Activities Committee issued a report called "The Communist Peace Offensive: a Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States." This document showed in detail how intellectuals, professors, writers, and others who influence public opinion, were sucked into various Communist peace fronts. This report said: "The most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy is the current worldwide 'peace' offensive."

Today, under the slogans "peace" and "peaceful coexistence," we are witnessing a revival of this Communist peace offensive. The Czechs and Hungarians found that co-existence with communism is like getting into a cage with a hungry lion; after the lion has eaten the man, they lie down and coexist in peace. Peaceful coexistence means Communist conquest without war. In his February 1956 report to the 20th congress, Khrushchev asserted in Aesopian language that peaceful coexistence would lead to the victory of world communism.

Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, in his testimony before the House Un-Ameri-

can Activities Committee, has accurately described what the Communists mean by peace: "Every act that contributes to the Communist conquest is a peaceful act. If they take a gun, they take a peaceful gun, containing a peaceful bullet, and kill you peacefully and put you in a peaceful grave. When the Chinese Communists murder millions, it is an act of peace. When the Russian tanks rolled into Budapest to butcher and destroy, it was glorious peace." This is what J. Edgar Hoover calls "semantic sabotage." We cannot negotiate with the Communists because they insist black is white and murder is peaceful coexistence.

5. Summit conferences.

Four experts on communism testified before the United States House Un-American Activities Committee on April 30, 1958, that "the Kremlin looks upon a summit conference solely as another weapon in its program of global conquest." Dr. David J. Dallin, Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, Dr. James D. Atkinson, and Mr. Francis J. McNamara all declared that "in seeking an international conference, the purpose of the Soviet Union is not to negotiate peace but to disarm the West intellectually and psychologically." All four consultants were in agreement that another summit conference would constitute "a grave setback for the free world." Other experts have said that a summit conference, in Red doubletalk, means a "submit conference."

We must bear in mind that the Communists have the most deplorable record in all history for violation of solemn treaties, and that it is the policy of Communists to

promise anything and to perform nothing unless it serves their immediate ends. Just as a confirmed alcoholic is not cured by being invited to have one more drink, so a confirmed treaty breaker is not cured by being invited to sign a new treaty. The President is therefore right in demanding that Communists first demonstrate their good faith by complying with their prior agreements. Without such evidence of good faith, the conference becomes merely a Communist vehicle for propaganda purposes.

6. Cultural exchanges.

Nikita Khrushchev's famous report of February 1956 lists cultural and business exchanges as one of those developments which will bring about the growing weakness of the United States and advance world socialism. On June 2, 1957, Khrushchev appeared on American television screens and called for a wider exchange of cultural delegations. On December 22, 1957, the Communist *Daily Worker* declared that perhaps the best Christmas present Santa Claus will bring America will be the widespread cultural exchange of certain Americans with Soviet agents coming to this country.

On January 27, 1958, the United States signed a 2-year agreement with Soviet Russia for the exchange of persons in the cultural, scientific, technical, and educational fields. Matt Cvetic, former FBI undercover agent who worked with the Communists for 9 years, said: "Every single delegate from Russia or a satellite country with whom I ever came in contact myself, while posing as a Communist for the FBI, was either a member of the Soviet

secret police or the Soviet espionage apparatus. The primary activity of every one of Moscow's cultural delegates while in this country is to promote the Communist world revolution." E. H. Cookridge, former British secret service agent and an authority on Soviet espionage, had this to say: "Every Soviet football team, every athlete competing at an international sport event, Soviet scientists attending a congress abroad, the Moscow Ballet performing in a western capital or a group of Soviet artists at a film festival are invariably accompanied by special agents of the Soviet secret police." Judge Robert Morris, who has spent the last 17 years intensively studying the Communist conspiracy, said: "In past years of the exchange, secret police have passed as farmers, ice skaters, clergymen, and scientists for the purpose of conducting espionage operations in this country."

We commend the Veterans of Foreign Wars for their brilliant evaluation of the program of cultural exchanges with Soviet Russia. The VFW said: "The United States is losing and Moscow is gaining through this program as it is now operated. * * * Moscow obviously wants only those exchanges and contacts which give its trusted agents an opportunity to mislead foreigners about the Soviet Union. * * * Moscow has also used the visitor-exchange program as a means of weakening United States security regulations." We also commend AFL-CIO President George Meany for his statement on cultural exchanges: "No believer in the basic principles of free trade unionism could today conceivably desecrate these prin-

ples by undertaking to visit a country whose tyrannical leadership has for the 40 years of its existence been the avowed and uncompromising enemy of all human rights."

Cultural interchange with Soviet Russia is a one-way street. When Americans go to Russia, they speak only through interpreters, see only what the Communists want them to see and hear only Communist propaganda. For example, in the Ukraine, the Soviet Government built a children's playground over a mass grave of thousands of anti-Communists. Visitors to Russia, seeing only the surface, come home and report how kind Communists are to their children.

Ivan Pushkar, a Ukrainian imprisoned in slave labor camps in Siberia, testified before the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression how the Russians would "stage these conducted tours for foreigners" with "ruse and fakery and fraud." Henry A. Wallace, in a frank article published in 1952, related that he did not realize during his tour of Soviet Russia how the Communists were making feverish efforts to hoodwink him. Wallace said it was only much later that he learned how a Communist slave labor camp had been transformed into a show city, with prisoners herded out of sight and watchtowers torn down, merely to deceive the American Vice President. Elinor Lipper verifies this in her book, "Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps." As a prisoner in a slave camp visited by Wallace, she gives an inside account of how American tourists are deceived.

On the other hand, Communist visitors to the United States have been given access to our industrial

and agricultural knowhow, as well as to some of our scientific and military installations. This knowledge has been used to strengthen the Communist dictatorship in areas where it is weakest, such as labor-saving devices and corn-hog production.

7. *Recognition of Red China:*

Diplomatic recognition is essential to Communist subversion. The Communist espionage apparatus needs the diplomatic immunity of its embassies and consulates to set up spy centers. It needs the unbroken seal of the diplomatic pouch to transmit orders to its spies and couriers and to receive back their reports and microfilmed documents.

How the Red diplomatic apparatus functions is described in detail in the report of the Canadian Royal Commission which investigated code clerk Igor Gouzenko's revelations, in the Report of the Australian Royal Commission which investigated Embassy Secretary Vladimir Petrov's confession, and in the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigation of United States Communists working for the U.N. conducted by Senator Herbert O'Conor.

That Red China will model her tactics after the tactics of Soviet Russia is made clear by the statement of premier Chou En-lai in the magazine *International Affairs*:

"The great Communist Party of China, organized by progressive elements of the Chinese people, was founded and developed under the influence of the October Revolution, and was modeled on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

8. *Halt nuclear tests:*

The current Communist tactic to get an agreement with the West halting nuclear tests is similar to Soviet exploitation of the agreement made at Panmunjom not to rearm the North and South Koreans with jet planes and other modern weapons. The Soviets promptly violated this agreement. Then they violated its inspection clause by refusing to permit the neutral team to inspect North Korean airfields.

Most experts agree that the net results of the suspension of nuclear tests would be that the United States would stop testing but that, within the vast, isolated Soviet land mass, there would be circumvention of the ban on testing.

The National Academy of Sciences, in a report on The Biological Effects of Atomic Radiation, said that the United States population is exposed to radiation from the natural background of cosmic rays, etc., of about 4.3 roentgens, and from medical and dental X-rays of about 3 roentgens. Nuclear weapons tests—if continued at the rate of the past 5 years would give a probable 30-year dose of about 0.1 roentgen. This is less than one would get from a radium dial on a wrist watch. This report was confirmed by a report to Parliament made by the Medical Research Council of Great Britain.

9. *East-West trade:*

Khrushchev's report of February 14, 1956 calls for East-West trade; and this has been part of the Communist line for many years. Foreign trade to a Communist country is a means of obtaining from the outside world the strategic materials with which it can arm itself for

world conquest. Trading with the Communist bloc would be a psychological as well as a military defeat for the United States. The goods we might sell to the Communist bloc will be used against us just as the superb Rolls-Royce jet engines sold to Russia were used to power Mig-15's against us in Korea.

In May 1958, Khrushchev sent an 8-page letter to President Eisenhower in which he brazenly suggested that the United States grant Soviet Russia long-term dollar credits in order to finance trade with the United States. We would not gain by trading our machinery for Soviet I O U's or even Russia's raw materials . . . the Western Hemisphere contains all the 77 critical and strategic materials needed for military security.

10. Propaganda:

Communists are spending \$3 billion a year on propaganda which is reaching every city and hamlet in our Nation. In one day, Communist propaganda coming through New York City alone fills three large warehouses, and not a single piece is labeled "Communist propaganda" as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act. This propaganda comes not only from Russia, but also from Red China, from Iron Curtain countries, and from Western Europe. Much additional Red propaganda is published in the United States by Communist publishers.

The House Un-American Activities Committee recently reported: "Propaganda is part of a global program which ranks as one of the Kremlin's most important instruments of conquest." Henry Loomis, former Director of the Office of Re-

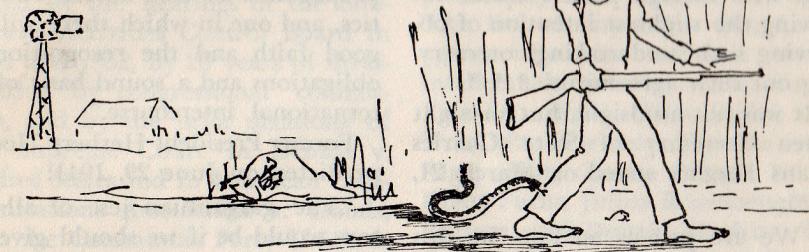
search and Intelligence of the United States Information Agency, estimated that 25 million persons throughout the world are directly engaged in disseminating Communist propaganda.

11. Humiliation:

As a dialectical maneuver in between its peace offensive and its drive for a summit conference, the Kremlin uses the tactic of humiliation. This tactic had already been used by the Communists on American prisoners in Korea.

Communists masterminded insulting demonstrations all over South America against Vice President Nixon, which included spitting on him and the throwing of rocks and garbage. On July 18, 1958, a mob of 100,000 Communists gathered in front of the American Embassy in Moscow and threw ink bottles and stones which shattered most of the windows on the first five floors. All spring there was a wave of demonstrations against the American information agencies in various parts of the world, with burnings of the American libraries. This summer, there has been the series of kidnappings of American citizens: 9 United States soldiers held by East Germany, 9 United States airmen shot down in Armenia; and 47 civilians, sailors, and marines kidnaped in Cuba. In addition, there is an untold number of Americans who are being held captive in the Soviet Union. In an interview this summer, John Noble, one of the few captives who have been released, made this statement about American prisoners in Red slave-labor camps: "Every day the Russians taunted us—'If you had a Government in America, they'd get you out'."

Hindsight or foresight



On June 17, 1958, when the Soviet news agency, Tass, announced the executions of former Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy, Gen. Pal Maleter, and two other leaders of the anti-Communist rebellion of 1956, western leaders expressed shock and dismay. General Maleter, the hero of the rebellion, was seized by the Soviets when he met with them under a flag of truce to negotiate the withdrawal of the Red army from Budapest. Nagy and his associates were executed, although they had received a written guaranty of safe conduct when they left their asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy.

To even the most elementary student of Communist history and tactics, these enormous acts of treachery came as no surprise. In March 1945, 16 top leaders of the Polish Government were invited to Moscow for negotiations and were promised on the word of honor of the Soviet Government, that they would have safe conduct. All 16 were arrested and then vanished. Nothing was heard of any of them until 10 years later, when the wife of General Leopold Okulicki was notified of his death 9 years before in a Soviet prison. The perfect parallel

between Soviet betrayal of safe-conduct pledges to the Poles in 1945 and to the Hungarians in 1958 should remind Western leaders of the old Indian maxim: "Pale face cheat red man once, shame on pale face. Pale face cheat red man twice, shame on red man." Since the Katyn Forest Massacre of 1943, it has been obvious that co-existence with communism is a contradiction in terms.

With each succeeding act of Soviet bad faith, many western spokesmen express surprise. When anti-Communists reply, "You should have expected this," the politically naive make a common rejoinder: "That is mere hindsight; no one could have predicted that the Communists could be that bad." It is appropriate to point out that informed anti-Communists have always known and publicly stated that it is impossible to negotiate with international communism.

It was not hindsight, it was foresight when Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby said on August 10, 1920:

"The existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith.

* * * The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. * * *

It was not hindsight, but foresight when Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes stated on March 21, 1928:

"We are just as anxious in this Department and in every branch of the administration as you can possibly be, to promote peace in the world,

to get rid of hatred, to have a spirit of mutual understanding, but the world we desire is a world not threatened with the destructive propaganda of the Soviet authorities, and one in which there will be good faith and the recognition of obligations and a sound basis of international intercourse."

Former President Herbert Hoover predicted on June 29, 1941:

"The gargantuan jest of all history would be if we should give aid to Stalin in the war. * * * The result would be to spread communism over the world."

Current fallacies about Communism

So much misinformation is current about communism that it is appropriate to expose some of the major fallacies.

FALLACY NO. 1—"Communism in the United States is dwindling in power because the party is dwindling in numbers."

This popular belief shows a complete misunderstanding of Leninism. Lenin's great contribution to communism was his principle of the dedicated few. He coined the expression "the fewer, the better." He originated the party of professional revolutionaries subject to military discipline. He rejected the idea of a popular party, and enunciated the principle that no one should be given party membership unless he was under discipline. This is how Lenin was able to establish communism with only 17 supporters and take over Russia with only 40,000.

It is just as false to measure the strength of communism in the United States by comparing the small number of party members with the

large number of non-Communists, as it would be to measure the seaworthiness of a ship by comparing the area of its holes with the area of its hull. A few strategically placed holes can sink the largest ship.

The real strength of communism in the United States is the number of non-Communist organizations and individuals who will collaborate with the Communists. For every Communist Party member, there may be 100 non-Communists who will do the work of the Communists.

The Communists now have 600 fronts. In addition they have "fronts in front of the fronts." Making use of their fellow travelers and dupes, plus their "united front tactic," the Communists boast they can have 50,000 letters on any issue sent to Capitol Hill or the White House inside of 72 hours.

FALLACY NO. 2—"The Communist Party is just another political party."

It has been indisputably established by the hearings of the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1951 and 1952, by 20 years of investigation by congressional committees, and by the prior decisions of the Supreme Court in *Dennis v. United States* and in *American Communications Association v. Douds*, that the Communist Party U.S.A. is not just a minor political party like the Prohibition Party. In the Dennis case, Chief Justice Vinson rightly described the Communist Party as "a highly organized conspiracy, with rigidly disciplined members subject to call when the leaders, these petitioners, felt that the time had come for action."

Like an iceberg, eight-ninths of the Communist Party has always been underground. The crypto-Communists who carry no cards, and whose names appear on no party records, are the most dangerous Communists. Top Communist agents such as Klaus Fuchs, Guy Burgess, and Donald Maclean never marched in a May day parade, never carried a hammer and sickle banner, never raised a clenched fist at a Red rally. They were effective agents because they were always underground conspirators.

FALLACY NO. 3—"Poverty breeds communism."

This is the false "stomach" theory of Communism. Communism is not a disease caused by an empty stomach; it is a disease of the mind and soul. Communism does not originate with the poor, the uneducated, the exploited, or the working class.

Every major world Communist figure who became a Communist in a non-Communist country did so as a student intellectual, materialistic in philosophy and atheistic in faith. The list of important Communist agents who were well-fed student intellectuals includes Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi-minh, Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Klaus Fuchs, Julius Rosenberg, Guy Burgess, and Donald Maclean. The Communist government of Kerala, democratically elected after the Hungarian revolt was crushed by Soviet troops, has 11 members; 9 are the sons of Indian aristocrats or intellectuals.

FALLACY NO. 4—"The only alternative to peaceful coexistence is world war III with nuclear destruction of our cities."

The Communists do not want to destroy us or our cities. A dead man is useless as a slave laborer. They want to take our cities intact as they captured Prague and the giant Skoda munitions works. They plan to capture America with native Communists, just as they took Czechoslovakia with Czechs, China with Chinese, Indochina with Indochinese, North Korea with Koreans.

The only alternative is not world war III. Another alternative is a declaration of independence for the satellites and oppressed peoples of Russia. The Kremlin would not embark upon a foreign war if it had or was threatened with a strong independence movement behind the Iron Curtain. The Kremlin remembers that communism came to power only because the Czar, and then the Kerensky government forced the people to fight a foreign war.

Safeguarding our republic



1. Remedial legislation

In his testimony before a House Appropriations Subcommittee on January 16, 1959, J. Edgar Hoover said:

"Crime and subversion have become critical challenges due to the mounting success of criminal and subversive elements in employing loopholes, technicalities, and delays in the law to defeat the interests of justice."

Hoover quoted a Federal judge who warned against "an unfortunate trend of judicial decisions * * * which strain and stretch to give the guilty not the same but vastly more protection than the law-abiding citizen." In his speech to the national convention of the American Legion last fall, Hoover warned us:

"It would be the worst kind of folly to allow the spy and subversive immunity through technical rather than logical interpretation of the law, while they plot the destruction of our democratic form of Government."

We urge that careful consideration be given to congressional legislation or judicial construction which will:

1. Restore to congressional committees the right to determine whether the questions asked of pro-

Communist witnesses are pertinent.

✓ 2. Restore to congressional committees the same freedom to investigate Communists and pro-Communists that these committees have always had to investigate businessmen and labor leaders.

✓ 3. Restore to the States the right to enforce their own antisubversive laws.

✓ 4. Restore to the Smith Act the provision which makes it a crime to teach or advocate the violent overthrow of the Government.

5. Restore to the Smith Act the meaning of "organize" which includes organizational work done after 1945, so that Communist organizers cannot hide behind the statute of limitations.

✓ 6. Restore to the executive branch the right to determine and to dismiss security risks in both sensitive and nonsensitive positions of the Government.

7. Restore to the States the right to set standards high enough to exclude from public employment and education those who refuse to testify about their Communist activities and associates.

8. Restore to the executive branch the right to question aliens awaiting deportation about subversive asso-

ciates and contacts, and the right to deport aliens who are Communists at any time after entering the United States.

9. Restore to the executive branch the right to deny passports to those who refuse to sign a non-Communist affidavit.

10. Restore to the States the right to exclude from the practice of law those who have been members of the Communist conspiracy or who refuse to testify about Communist activities.

Although 8 years have elapsed since the passage of the Internal Security Act, the Communists have succeeded in preventing its enforcement and in blocking a final judicial determination of its constitu-

tionality. The April 20, 1953, order of the Subversive Activities Control Board, issued after exhaustive hearings and backed by scholarly documentation, that the Communist Party, U. S. A., must comply with said act still awaits enforcement. We reassert the views stated in the brief we filed in the United States Supreme Court in support of this important legislation. If any part of this act violates the Constitution, the courts should so hold and Congress should pass new legislation or amend the old act to conform to constitutional requirements. If it is constitutional, the Communist Party and members should not have immunity from its security provisions during years of litigation.

2. Reevaluate the policy of recognition of Soviet Russia and its satellites

How diplomatic recognition can be used as a weapon in the cold war was well stated by House Majority Leader John W. McCormack on July 13, 1958, when he called for "a severance of diplomatic relations with Russia." Four American presidents refused to recognize the Communist Government of Russia, and it remained weak and ineffective so long as it was unrecognized. Communism began to spread through the world as soon as the United States extended diplomatic recognition in 1933, because, in violation of all international morality and even of the executive agreement by which recognition was extended, Soviet Russia used her embassies and consulates as centers of espionage, subversion, and propaganda.

In describing the recent case involving the Communist spy, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, J. Edgar Hoover testified:

"I mention this case particularly, Mr. Chairman, because there are some people who think that the matter of Soviet espionage is a thing of the past and no longer exists in view of the theme of peaceful coexistence the Soviets continue to expound. Many of the incidents in the Abel case occurred in 1957."

We must all realize that Communist governments use blackmail, counterfeiting, forgery, kidnaping, lying, mass murder, slavery, subversion, theft, and treaty-breaking as part of their official state policy. It is a matter of historical record that the Kremlin blackmailed the Allies

into concessions during World War II by threatening to sign a separate peace with Hitler; that Communist governments have counterfeited American money and forged American passports; kidnaped American citizens and held them for ransom; kidnaped 28,000 Greek children in the cruelest mass abduction in modern history; murdered 11,000 Polish officers at Katyn Forest, 6,112 American soldiers whom they captured in Korea and thousands of boys and girls in Hungary; forced millions of Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Czech, Hungarian, and Ukrainian citizens to work as slave laborers in Siberia; stole 600 tons of gold bars worth \$700 million from the Government of Spain in 1936; destroyed by subversion the postwar Republics of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland; and violated 50 of their last 52 treaties.

Nothing would slow down the Communist line more definitely than if the United States were to recognize the necessity of treating Soviet Russia as an outlaw and putting its Red agents in the same category. It would dry up the channels by which Soviet Russia spreads its propaganda, directs its espionage, and enforces its discipline on our citizens.

We invite serious attention to the speech of Richard L. Roudabush, commander in chief of the Veter-

ans of Foreign Wars, to the national encampment of the VFW on August 30, 1957, in which he called on our Government to sever diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Twenty-two State conventions of the American Legion have also endorsed withdrawal of recognition from Soviet Russia.

It has been claimed that our embassies in Communist countries have value as listening posts. Evidence is abundant that our embassies provide listening posts only for the Communists and not for Americans. American diplomats discovered a microphone had been hidden for years only a few feet from where our Ambassador to Moscow Joseph E. Davies dictated his top-secret reports to Washington. In the American legation in Communist Hungary, a microphone was discovered in the fireplace of the room where Cardinal Mindszenty resides. The Communists had a wire recorder on the legation roof.

We should, of course, continue to refuse recognition to Red China, and we should continue to press for the return of or a satisfactory accounting for the 450 American prisoners of war still held by Red China in violation of the Korean armistice agreement, as called for by House Resolution 292, unanimously passed by the House of Representatives on July 9, 1957.

3. Be prepared with a plan of action

One of the several lessons we learned from the Hungarian rebellion in October, 1956, was that the West had no plan of action. The Voice of America, Radio Free Eu-

rope and promises of "liberation" by responsible American officials had kept alive the hope for freedom. But when the major breakthrough came in Hungary, we had no plan

to help the freedom fighters. This aid did not need to be military, but it did need to be prompt. The Rev. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, said in June, 1958:

"There were 4 days when in the opinion [even] of Tito, recognition by the United States of the Nagy government would have saved the revolution. Nothing more than this

was required. Red Russia waited until she knew we would not act—and then she came."

Similar lost opportunities to administer a fatal or crippling blow to world communism were the occasions of Stalin's death, and the Poznan and the East German rebellions. Each opportunity was muffed because we had no plan.

4. Study Communism

In 1937, Pope Pius XI asked a searching question:

"How is it possible that such a system, long since rejected scientifically and now proved erroneous by experience, how is it, we ask, that such a system could spread so rapidly in all parts of the world?"

He answered his own question in these words: "The explanation lies in the fact that too few have been able to grasp the nature of communism."

Twenty-one years later, an additional 750 million human beings have been swept behind the Iron Curtain. But it is unfortunately still true that all too few people understand what communism is. Last year, our committee reported:

(Handwritten notes: "The greatest asset the Communists have at the present time is not the hydrogen bomb, certainly not Soviet satellites, but world ignorance of their tactics, strategy and objectives."

When our enemy was Nazi Germany, our Government and military leaders studied every detail of the enemy and his strategy. One of

the great generals of the European campaign was George S. Patton. Early in World War II, when the Germans were advancing, General Patton was asked one day if he wasn't discouraged. His answer was precise:

"I have studied the German for 40 years. I have read the memoirs of his great men. I have studied every detail of all his military campaigns. I have attended some of his staff courses. I know exactly how he will react under any given set of circumstances. He does not know what I will do. For this reason, when the time comes, I shall beat the hell out of him."

And this, he did.

We can no more save our Republic from communism merely by saying we are against communism, than parents can save their children from polio by fervently being against polio. To conquer any disease requires intelligent study to isolate the germ and discover the vaccine. As the number one killer in the world today, communism is a disease which merits our urgent study.

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